1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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girl's household. With the aid of the pander, who must be able to keep the dogs quiet and under control, the young man enters his sweetheart's home in the night and crawls into her bed. This custom of sleeping together is called *inakuduw*. Nothing much is made of it if it is plainly preliminary to marriage, but a girl who gets the reputation of freely sharing her bed becomes a laughing stock and is known as *ñaŋa domo* ("loose woman").

MARRIAGE[7]

When, in the course of time, a man decides to marry he is not expected to deal directly with the girl or her parents. Instead, he is supposed to employ a friendly couple to serve as go-between. The process of arranging a nuptial pact is *dakeltuw*, and the intermediaries are termed *dakelchefe*. The latter hold lengthy conversations with the prospective groom and his parents, during which they carefully memorize the exact wording of the marriage offer, with particular reference to the details of a proposed bride price. After that the *dakelchefe* make a long stay at the girl's home, where they ingratiate themselves with her family and await a favorable chance to present the groom's proposal. During this period the female go-between constantly accompanies the bride-to-be, helping her to dress and to carry out her daily chores. She also seizes every occasion to praise the suitor and to paint a glowing picture of connubial bliss.

If all goes well and preliminary assent has been won to the suggested arrangements, the *dakelchefe* return to the groom's house to render a complete account of everything that was said and done during the visit. Thereafter, the boy's father schedules an assembly, *ruwun*, to which is invited a large gathering including the bride and her relatives. At the festiv-

[7] While discussing this topic informants did not always differentiate clearly between present-day usages and traditional customs, but the intent of this section is to portray the contemporary situation. Compare the treatment of marriage in Mombeuh, 1936, pp. 131–63; and Cooper, 1946, pp. 719–86.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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ities proceed people seat themselves on skins or blankets, food and drinks are served, and elderly men and women may smoke pipes. Soon joking, *ayükuiñv*, begins and, as the crowd warms up, songs are rendered by anyone who desires to sing.[8] No matter who else sings, a chance is always provided for the suitor to make a proposal, which the intended bride is expected to parry.[9] "*C'est de bon ton*," as Hounse expressed it.[10] Nevertheless, before the assembly breaks up, the groom's father gives a valuable present to the girl's father as a token of the bride price, and the couple contrive to set a date for an "abduction."[11]

When the appointed time comes the groom sets out on horseback after dark, accompanied by a small party comprising brothers, male cousins, or friends. The bride and her family may or may not offer a spirited resistance, but in any event the lover manages to seize his sweetheart and to ride off with her to the home of an intermediary, *rañiñelwe*, where, by previous arrangement, the couple spend the night. The next morning, in the presence of witnesses, the *rañiñelwe* notifies the groom's father that his son has abducted a woman, and the father publicly announces the extent of the payment he is prepared to make to the girl's father. Arrangements are then completed for the *küllawetun*, which is the bestowal of the purchase price. This step is also taken before witnesses to discourage either party from violating earlier agreements. When, at last, the entire transaction has been completed, a go-between brings the fathers of the principals together so that they may shake hands in public. At this stage the girl's parents bring household goods and other presents for the newlyweds, and the bride's mother is expected to invite the couple and her daughter's affinal relatives to pay a visit to her home. From this time on,

[8] This custom is described in Titiev, 1949.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[10] Hounse, 1936, p. 142.

[11] Reference is here made to the Araucanian custom generally called "marriage." The Mapuche consistently describe the custom by the Spanish word *rapto*, which may be translated either as "rape" or "abduction."

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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the respective mothers-in-law may refer to each other as *ñi-llandomo*, which signifies "women united through the payment of a bride price."

The Araucanian custom of "mock rape" or abduction has for years aroused the interest of social scientists. No single explanation can possibly cover all the variations of the practice, which has differed at various stages of Mapuche history and which fluctuates with a man's wealth and previous marital experience. For example, marriage by abduction is customarily the rule only for the first of a man's wives, and today the institution is kept alive primarily by rich men of high prestige. Other marriages center about an exchange of gifts, and natives point out that neither party expects to gain very much in these transactions. Any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment.

In times past abduction seems to have taken place in at least three different contexts. When they were fighting intratribal wars, Araucanian men sometimes raided enemy settlements and literally carried away women whose resistance was anything but simulated. In other cases men abducted brides without prearrangement, but later made adequate payment; and in many instances the entire affair was worked out in advance, and resistance was purely formal.

After reviewing all the pertinent data, it may be concluded that out and out abduction of women was a rare phenomenon that was occasionally brought about by a combination of exogamy and a continuous state of internal warfare. Much more commonly, abduction and its concomitant resistance seem to imply only a highly dramatic form of "ceremonial coyness." As I have elsewhere written: " 'Ceremonial coyness' is best explained by the reluctance one feels at leaving a familiar home to take up residence in a strange one, especially if one's new family is to be merged with that of the parents-in-law."[28] The applicability of this interpretation to the Araucanians has been indicated in an analysis of social singing wherein it was pointed out:

[28] Titiev, 1943, p. 517, footnote 30.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

provide the purchase price, and to maintain them and their families. Formerly it 595
was common for a chief of importance to have as many as twenty, but now the number rarely passes four or five. The first wife (*ouen domuche*) has, however, a certain moral ascendency over the others (*mau domuche*). As a general rule there is little jealousy among the wives, who take it in turns, either daily or weekly, to attend to the personal wants of the husband, as also in sexual intercourse. It is [582]
probable that formerly exogamous customs prevailed, but at present the only
restrictions imposed are that a man may not marry his mother or sister. What 583
seems to indicate that exogamy was an ancient practice among these Indians, is the fact that all marriage ceremonies begin with the pretended rape, or carrying off of the bride, which of late years has given way to a simple elopement, unless the bride be unwilling, when the older custom is resorted to. The marriage ceremony consists of two parts; the rape (*lesentun*), and the payment (*mavun*). Having arranged the price with the father or eldest brother of the girl, the bridegroom arranges the details of the rape. He calls together his male relations, and while one of them goes to the bride's house on some pretext or other, the rest make a sudden attack on the dwelling. This is energetically resisted by all the womenfolk, the men of the household remaining passive spectators. One of the raiders seizes the struggling girl, and none too gently drags her to where the bridegroom is waiting on horseback. Placing her in front of him the latter gallops off to the wood. Here the pair remain for three days, food being taken to them by their friends. After this the bridegroom takes home his bride to the hut he has already prepared for her. This custom of carrying off the bride is only practised in the case of the first wife. A few days later comes the feast of the payment (*mavun*), to which all the relatives of both parties are invited. The price paid varies according to the status of the bride. If she is of superior rank, the payment sometimes reaches as high as ten or twelve animals, cows, mares, or sheep; an approximate value of about £12 to £14 sterling. A poor man obtains a wife of his own class at the cost of a few shillings. If a bridegroom cannot pay at once the whole of the price agreed upon, he lives with his father-in-law till the debt is cancelled. Generally he puts the whole of his relations under contribution, and, as this debt is considered one of honour, it is usually paid in a very short time. If it were not paid within a reasonable period, the father could recover his daughter. The husband could only refuse to pay when the wife died prematurely, and could demand the return of the value given if she abandoned her home.

Marital Customs.—It was a former custom not to permit a woman to give 844
birth to a child within the precincts of the village, as it was considered to cause infectious diseases. She was driven out, on beginning to feel the labour pains, and retired to the banks of the nearest stream or lake. As soon as the child was born 846
the mother stepped into the water and performed the necessary ablutions, returning afterwards to a small hut constructed for the purpose near the river, which constituted her home. Here she remained at work attended by some

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

584 of the girl. Her consent was usually, but apparently not always, sought. The bride-price consisted of llamas, mantles, shirts, adornments (llaṇkas), food, chicha, and, later, chickens, cattle, horses, bridles, spurs, and other valuables. From 10 to 100 such items might be demanded, although it was not always required to pay all at once. The relatives and friends of the groom would contribute toward the bride-price if he could not get it together unaided, which put him under a debt of honor to reciprocate when later they should need his contributions. The bride-price was turned over primarily to the girl's father or other elder relative, some of it directly to her mother. Much of it was distributed to her paternal and maternal uncles, her brothers, and other kin, and much of it consumed at the marriage feast, to which her father and kin also contributed large quantities of chicha.

583 Dramatized capture of the bride, or simulated reluctance and resistance on the part of her and her female relatives and friends, very commonly accompanied marriage, and followed various patterns. The consent of the girl's father or parents having been obtained, the groom with some male relatives or friends would seize the girl at her father's house or elsewhere; she would scream and struggle; her women relatives and friends or her parents and brothers would put up a simulated but rough-and-tumble resistance; the girl would be carried away by the groom on horseback to his house or to the woods near thereto; after 1 to 3 days, he with the girl and his companions would go to her house where her mother would give them a meal. Then, or a short time after, the bride-price was given over and the wedding feast celebrated.

Apart from simulated capture with the father's consent and with or without the previous consent of the girl or against her wishes, and apart from marriages with women captured or stolen from out-group or enemy tribes, some instances of in-group real capture and forcible detention against both the girl's and her parent's wishes may have occurred. (Cf. Claude Joseph, 1933-34, pp. 707–08.) But generally the father's consent was obtained post factum and the bride-price given over to him. In very rare cases, if the seized girl was unwilling [762] at all to live with her simulative (or real) captor, she hanged herself (Mossbach, 1936, p. 241). Some elopements, too, occurred, with the consent of the girl but without that of her parents. As a rule, after capture or elopement, if the father absolutely refused post factum consent, his daughter was returned to him (Havestadt, 1883, 2:639).

585 The wedding rites and observances consisted mainly of the transfer and distribution of the bride-price, of the rendering of specially composed ballads, of a sacrifice of a llama or other animal, of singing, dancing, feasting, and, of course, very liberal imbibing of chicha or

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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585 tell what the bride price had been but went on to say: "If we had been rich we might have brought as bride price several animals, probably a cow with its calf, a young cow bearing a calf, an experienced ox, a young untrained ox, and a horse. We might have taken as gifts two large black shawls, one for the girl's father and one for her mother; for the mother, also, a kapam [dress], a trarüloŋka [headband of silver medallions], and a trapelakucha [silver ornament with long danglers, usually ending in a cross, worn on the breast]; for the girl's father, we might have brought 50 to 60 pesos of silver. After we had handed over the gifts, the girl's mother led the girl to my mother. The girl's mother and father then talked to her, telling her to obey my father and mother; from then on, to respect me, her husband, and also her sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law, and whoever would be in our ruka. Then we ate—we had not eaten any food that day. After that we sat around and talked, and in the afternoon the women prepared another meal. We ate it, and then went home. I took my bride with me. When we arrived at my home, a plentiful meal and mudai had been prepared for us there, also."

●583 Kidnaping a bride, spoken of as stealing a woman, or eloping with one who had consented to marriage unbeknown to her parents (both ways are called ŋapitun) were institutional but were not considered proper ways of marrying. Kidnaping was done either by the father of the man and the man, or by the man himself. Kidnaping occurred when the woman's father refused the man's father his request for the woman; when the fathers had agreed upon a marriage, but the woman refused to marry the man; when the man knew that the woman was willing to marry him, but her parents refused to allow her to do so; or when the man was unwilling or unable to pay the bride price.

A woman informant described kidnaping as follows: "The man's father asks the girl's father for the girl, but he refuses to give his daughter. Then the man's father finds six men, the strongest he can find among his friends, and they set out to steal the girl. During the night they go to the ruka of the girl and the strongest of the six men sneaks in and carries the girl out by force, holding her securely in his arms, like one does a baby. The men outside stand ready to defend him and themselves, should the father and brothers of the girl retaliate—something they may do with pieces of burning wood or whatever they can lay their hands on. The men outside may take from their hands whatever they have, but they are not to hit the father or brothers. Sometimes, however, the men on both sides are much beaten up and even receive head injuries. If the girl resists and will not voluntarily mount the horse they have brought for her to ride, they

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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will set her into the saddle and tie her feet to the stirrups or her legs to the horse so she cannot dismount to run away. Sometimes the girl yells and weeps out loud. Often a girl does not know whose wife she is to be. The man who carried her out of the ruka rides on her horse, back of the saddle, to prevent her escape. In this manner they bring her to the man's home. They guard her here for two or three nights. The man's father, and maybe several other men, will sleep alongside of each other across the door so that she cannot escape. In the daytime the man and one of the women accompany her if she leaves the ruka. I know one woman that was taken that way; they lived near here until a year ago. This woman resisted until she realized that it was of no avail. She then went willingly but asked that the women in the man's home would not maltreat her—women sometimes beat an unwilling girl. My mother told me that three of her friends died of heartache and grief because they were taken that way. One of them ran back to her family but her parents forced her to return to her husband. She ran away again, but hid in the woods, somewhere. Her parents found her there, and again forced her to return. When they heard some months later that she was dying of grief, they wanted her to come to her home to die; but she refused. She said that she would now sooner die among strangers than in the home in which she had been so badly treated."

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Elopements occurred when a man selected his own wife and courted her secretly and, fearing interference from parents on either side, arranged with the girl to meet him at night to go to his home with him. Sometimes the woman told her parents beforehand; usually she did not since she feared their anger. In the case of an elopement, the man's father paid the girl's father for the "damage" within a month or at least within a year. Quoting a 40-year-old informant: "To steal a wife was a simple affair. I stole mine, but she was willing to go with me. I did so because I did not have enough animals to buy her. I learned to know her the same year I stole her. I met her secretly and talked it over with her. A man found opportunities to talk to the woman he wished to marry. It had to be done secretly, never publicly, for men and women were not allowed to speak to each other openly or in public. She met me near a certain tree where I had tied my horse, the one I had brought for her to ride. I told her to meet me there when the moon was at zenith, and she did. Then we rode to my home." At this point the interpreter (non-Araucanian) asked the informant why he had been so surprised then when his daughter eloped with a young man recently, since he himself had stolen his own wife. To which he replied: "I have told my children

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583 that they should not follow my example in things that I have done badly; that now I am giving them a good example and that they should follow it." He added with emphasis: "I still maintain it was a disgraceful thing for my daughter to run away the way she did! I sent her to school for four years, yes, longer than that. The longer children attend school the worse they are!"

Occasionally a woman was—and still is—forced into marriage entirely against her will. Old women who had lived forced marriages spoke of them with visible emotions of bitterness toward parents, and often toward the husband. None would relate her experience. A non-Araucanian interpreter later related the following which she said was not unlike situations described to her on occasions by old women: "Seven years ago (1940) an 18-year-old girl ran into our house, breathless, about 7 o'clock one morning, saying she had run away from home, that a young man had just been at their house and that she was going to be sold to him; that he was to return one of the following days to get her. She begged to stay with us for protection. We gave her breakfast, and tried to calm and comfort her. She was not here an hour when her mother and younger sister were rapping at the door. The mother asked if her older daughter was with us, and if so, she wished to speak with her. The daughter said that she was filled with fear and did not wish to speak with her mother. But the mother would not relent. So we told the girl that we would stay with her while she talked to her mother, which we did. The mother was very angry. She scolded the girl in the Mapuche language for running away, and raised her hand to strike her. She promised me that she would not force the girl to marry, if she came home with her then. The girl said, 'This is not the truth; my mother is only saying it,' and would not leave. The mother and the younger sister then walked to one of our Mapuche neighbors and asked the man there to help them force the girl to return home (the girl's father had died some years before). But the neighbor said he refrained always from getting mixed up with other people's troubles. The mother, in a rage of anger, now yelled at both the neighbor and me that if the girl did not return to her home, she would fetch her relatives and they would break all the windows of our house. She continued threatening. She walked around the outside of our house, yelling in anger. She would not leave the place. I encouraged the girl then to return home with her mother, telling her that I would go with her to talk to her brothers. When we arrived near her home, I saw her two brothers plowing nearby. I walked to them and explained that their sister had left home because she was being forced into a marriage; that this was not the

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proper thing to do to a sister; brothers should protect a sister. They replied that the matter was all arranged, that she had been promised in marriage, and that she had nothing to say about it. I saw one of them push the girl into the ruka. Their relatives told me later that the girl was whipped after I left. A few days later we heard that the man had come and taken her away. I met the girl a few weeks ago, and she told me that she has suffered much, but that she is more contented now. She has four little boys."

Present-day marriages rarely follow the proper traditional pattern. If arrangements are made between the parents of a couple, "the young man usually pays for his wife with an ox or a horse"; but today a young man often does not have the means to pay the bride price, or he sees no necessity for doing so. Not infrequently his father agrees with him in this. So, a marriage is discussed secretly by the man and the woman. Usually the man's parents know about their son's plans, but the woman's parents do not. When an agreement has been reached between the man and the woman, the woman leaves her home for the man's home at night, unbeknown to her parents. Her parents generally resent this procedure. If they have not been asked about the bride price and no arrangement has been made regarding it, they will be angry and will not allow the girl's personal things and her animals to be transferred to the man's place. They will insist that the bride price be paid. In due time, then, but often not until after the birth of the first child, the man will pay the bride price, and then the woman's parents relent, and will send the woman's belongings and property to her, and will also invite her and her husband for a visit.

A non-Araucanian teacher related the following regarding present-day marriages: "Any marriage that is not an elopement, at the present time, is an exception. Here is a sample: Two weeks ago, the children in school seemed very depressed. I asked several of them if something had happened, and each time the answer was 'No; nothing.' Later I noticed that two of the older girls who were dusting a hallway and room together did so in silence, an unusual thing. When they had finished, they walked outdoors and sat on a woodpile, again in silence. I walked up to them, and asked, 'What has happened? Why is the entire school so silent and depressed? Why does no one tell me?' One of them then wept loud, while the other told me that they had both had a sister stolen by a lover the night before; that they had both slept with their sisters and that neither one had noticed the sister leave the bed or go away; their absence was noticed only in the morning when everybody got up. Neither girl had spoken to her parents about marrying, and consequently their parents felt very

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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583 bad about it. The two young men were not related, but they must have agreed to get the girls at the same time. According to one girl's father the plans must have been made at a recent ŋillatun. He reasoned: 'It was the only opportunity that I know of that they had to do so.' Each girl had gone to the home of the man's parents. Enmity exists nearly always then between the girl's family and the man's family. Children of the families will quarrel on the way to and from school. When it is reported to me and I reprimand them for it, one group will say, 'Their family stole my sister.' Generally after a child is born to the young couple, or about to be born, the girl's mother relents; the girl may even be taken into her paternal home for delivery. Everyone gradually becomes reconciled. Before long the girl will ask for her property which usually consists of farm animals. When she receives it, some sort of feast is celebrated."

According to a non-Araucanian herbalist who had been in most of the Araucanian homes in the area, and who was a listener-in to the above, the girl's parents were not always annoyed with an elopement. She related the following as having been true on several occasions: "A young man and young woman agree to marry. Some night the man comes to get the woman. The woman leaves the ruka quietly and finds the place where the man with his horses is in hiding. She mounts a horse and the two ride to the man's home. Her parents, when they awake, act surprised and hurt, but this is merely a pretense. They do not go out to look for their daughter, for they know where she is. They show no friendliness toward the man, however, for they want him to pay the bride price. The couple lives as married. After some days, maybe two weeks, the young man goes to the home of the woman's parents to find out what payment is expected. Whatever her father demands, he must pay. The payment is always in animals. If the young man is rich, he may have to pay several animals, maybe a horse, an ox, a cow, and some sheep. After the payment is made, the woman sends word that she will visit her home. Her parents then prepare for her coming and invite relatives to a plentiful meal. In one locality in Coñaripe area a horse provided by the woman's parents must be consumed at this meal. After this the marriage is recognized as completed. The girl can now visit home as before."

Sometimes the girl, too, makes pretenses. To give the impression that she was being kidnaped but resisted, she bites the man's upper back and shoulders. The impressions of her teeth are pointed out as the result of her resistance. "Older people do not believe her; they recognize a sham when they see one."

An occasional girl goes of her own volition to the home of an un-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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married man. Having been spoken to in a friendly way by the man, she interprets it as a sign that she has the privilege of going to his home to be his wife. When she arrives there, she may not be wanted by him or his family. In such instances she usually returns home. 583

In case of pregnancy, the woman nearly always goes to the home of the man and stays there, whether or not she is wanted. "Three years ago, such a woman who was not wanted by the man's parents stayed until the baby was born. She left the baby for the man to care for and she herself went back to her own home. While the girl was in his home the young man—he was only 20—did not come home. He was running around, staying in other places. Soon a second girl came into his home, also pregnant. But I believe she stayed on; at least she said she would not leave the place; she knew she was not welcome in her own home." A listener-in added, "I got my wife in trouble intentionally so I could marry her. I fixed it so I did not have to pay, and she was willing to come."

Today Araucanians are expected to have a civil ceremony performed in accordance with Chilean law, followed by a religious one according to Church law. Many, however, are married without either.

LOVE CHARMS

Love charms are known but are seldom used today; it is doubtful that they were ever used extensively. "A certain grass that grows on volcanoes can be used to make another person love you," said a man in his twenties, to which his brother, also in his twenties, both sons of a cacique, added, "A machi can be hired to prepare a drink which will cause the one drinking it to become infatuated with another." Informants were unable—in instances unwilling, the writer believes—to identify plants used in love charms. Plants so used are named in Cooper's sources (1946, p. 722) and listed in Félix José (1916). Informants would not even acknowledge acquaintance with names of the plants. Félix José notes (vol. 1, p. 173) that the leaves of pollpoll were used by women to make an elixir of love; that wodawe has power of separating the affection of a rival from the person loved (p. 255); that paillawe, mixed with four other ingredients, given to a person will win that person's affection (p. 164); that lelliuken (unidentified) will do likewise when crushed and put into toasted wheat which will be eaten by the one whose affection is sought (p. 113); wenagwe (unidentified) is also used as a love charm (p. 253); wolfkintuwe (unidentified), a moss, can be used effectively to make an unfaithful lover remorseful (p. 257). 832 278 [756]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views.

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land-holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children.

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*admapu*) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement.

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension — migration — is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society.

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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former there is a structure of ranked co-wives and their offspring.

I feel that part of the reason for the decline in the number of polygynous households is that land is too scarce to permit a single man to allocate several units of it as bride-price to acquire rights over multiple wives. The continuation of polygyny on the scale it was formerly practiced would result in a deprivation of rights of the younger generation of males, rights over land which entail rights over women. In order that reservation life might be supportable for males of the younger generation, elders have been forced to relinquish rights they formerly enjoyed over the acquisition of women. One especially important reason the elder generation seems to have been willing to make this concession is that it is the only manner of assuring themselves that there will remain a body of agnatic males on the reservation of their birth who will continue to propitiate their spirits after their death.

In this section, most of the data are presented in particularistic form rather than stated in general terms. Information about compound polygynous families was obtained from too few examples on which to generalize. I will briefly cover a few salient points.

For one thing, a compound family as here defined need not incorporate a polygynous element, although it tends to. But it always involves half-siblings. Compound families can result from the multiple but not necessarily contemporaneous marriages of a man to two or more women. The sororate, widow inheritance, and remarriage of the widow may be polygynous or serially monogamous arrangements which result in the formation of compound families. According to my few observations and the statements of informants, it seems that polygyny is, nevertheless, a common feature of compound-family organization and that this has long been a Mapuche ideal.

There is some historical material which describes living arrangements within polygynous households, but there is not much descriptive data about interpersonal relationships – that is, not much that serves to differentiate polygynous arrangements from nonpolygynous compound and extended families. It is reported that co-wives were ranked and that the primary wife was most important in the management of household chores. It is not clear, however, whether the primary, secondary, etc., wives were ranked simply according to the order in which they were married, or whether there were other elements such as marriage wealth, the importance of family connections, and so forth. Neither are there adequate data concerning the division of

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labor among co-wives, their relationship with each other's children, and many more matters that immediately come to mind. Historical records, therefore, are of little use in determining changes that might have taken place in the organization of these households since the reservation period. About all that is certain is that the incidence of polygyny has decreased almost to the point of extinction.

I have observed polygynous families living under two types of residence: single-household and *lofche*. In no instance did I encounter a relatively young polygynist. Usually the man was more than fifty years of age. None had more than three living wives, although several claimed to have had as many as five or six co-wives years before. Partly for this reason I have included as polygynists some men who were actually bigamists when I knew them. My main reason, however, is that polygynous arrangements are considered desirable in principle, attainment of polygynous status being barred by economic considerations. In any case, there are no cultural limits placed upon the number of wives a man may have at one time.

The primary wife in all instances was the first woman the polygynist had married, and was by far the oldest wife. Primary wives are called *inan θomo*, a classification based primarily on age. Secondary wives are classified together as *unan θomo*, on the basis of age in relation to the primary wife. This is as far as my data take me in this regard. Higher bride-price was paid for the primary wife than for the others, but since the younger wives were married when the social and economic milieu had undergone significant change in relation to the availability of land, and also because of prevalent attitudes of most women disdaining polygyny, I hesitate to interpret the payment of higher bride-price for a primary wife as an especially characteristic feature of polygynous marriage. Indeed, bride-price is customarily smaller in all cases of second marriage; and in (serial) monogamous situations a second wife has rights and duties comparable to the woman she replaced in the household.

Each wife in a polygynous unit has rights over a garden of her own and receives a predetermined share of the harvest from her husband's fields. I could learn of no distinctions made in this regard between the primary wife and her children and the secondary wives and theirs. This might well be because the polygynist spends an equal amount of time in the dwelling of each wife, where he is fed from the larder of that particular household.

In only two cases did I encounter co-wives who were still sexually

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595 active living with their husband under one roof. This arrangement is said to be an especially unsatisfactory one, resorted to only when the man is too poor to build an additional house for one of the women or when he is indifferent to the claims of his wives and, indeed, expects to be rid of the one who is most inconvenienced. It is interesting that nearly all the polygynists I met said that several of their former wives had left them rather than live under polygynous arrangements in one house. There was no loss of bride-price in any of [583] these instances, since the husband always retained his land. It is at this juncture, however, that indications of jealousies between co-wives are strong.

[601] Co-wives use the term *meɓomo* (feces woman) with respect to each other, both as a referent and term of direct address. This symbolizes institutionalized imprecation. There need not be strong overtones of vilification involved, especially when the women are real or lineage sisters; indeed, *meɓomo* is used most often when they are not so related or, if so related, the term is used jokingly.

Only two sets of co-wives were lineage sisters among all the women I spoke to in polygynous families. They were first and second wives [587] and the second had been married after the death of her first husband. This seems to indicate that co-wives in polygynous households tend to be drawn from unrelated lineages, that a man takes a socially less desirable woman as a second wife, and that polygyny establishes a more diffuse arrangement of wife-giving groups than monogamous marriage. In the cases of polygyny with which I am familiar, the sons of the polygynists had married matrilaterally but settled uxorilocally, due to scarce land on their own reservation.

Sexual jealousy among co-wives results when their husband shows favoritism to one of them. The sexual favorite is usually the latest wife, and this is expected by the other women. But if favoritism continues to be shown for more than a month or so the other wives rail against their husband and are hostile to the newcomer. Sickness and [754] death among co-wives is usually charged to sorcery, with one or all the other wives being suspect. There was not one of the polygynists (or men who had had multiple wives in the past) who had not had some experience with charges of sorcery among his wives. The best thing a man can do in this case is to remain neutral himself but hire a shaman to practice countermagic. If the ailing wife recovered and none of the other wives were affected by the shaman's machinations, a great measure of family harmony was restored. I cannot speak of

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584 836 848 tion. If the young man is in love with the girl and feels that she will make a good wife, he will generally marry her. He may not do so immediately unless he already has land and a house of his own or a secure place in his father's household. Often he advises his sweetheart to continue living with her parents until he is able to make preparations to receive her as his wife. Delay might be construed as unwillingness to go through with the marriage, but this is not always the case. Nevertheless, until marriage arrangements have been entered into, this is a tense and anxious period for all concerned.

If a man has no land and his parents are unwilling to take his wife and child into their house, he is in no position to accept the responsibilities of marriage. I know of no case in which a man went to live with the parents of his lover under these circumstances. Indeed, he would not be welcome. The parents of the girl treat him with some distrust until serious marriage proposals have been made. If the young man and his family are in good faith, marriage negotiations may begin at this time. Ideally, they should have been planned in advance. In cases where the young couple are already betrothed, the matter of pregnancy is taken lightly, or perhaps as a sign of fruitfulness, and relatives on both sides lend ready assistance to the young man and woman in providing for a new household.

584 583 836 848 The situation is more complicated if the young man is already betrothed to another girl. He may refuse to marry his paramour on the grounds that his family has already made preparations for his forthcoming marriage. He stresses the obligations he and his parents are under to other relatives who have promised him animals for the bride-price, given labor for the preparation of fields, a house, and so forth; or he tells her that he will not get this sort of assistance should he marry her instead of his betrothed.

This line of reasoning is deceitful since it somewhat exaggerates the material contributions of relatives in marriage arrangements today. Lineage contributions to the marriage wealth are often more symbolic than substantial, except in cases where a lineage decision has to be made on the allotment of land to the young man. A marriage tends to stand or fall on the availability of land. Access to unused land is obtained through permission of the reservation's chief. But on most reservations there is little or no unused land, and a man must obtain his father's consent to use part of the family's fields, rather than seek the permission of the chief or one or more of the other lineage elders. Of course, in granting his son a parcel of farmland a

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man cannot easily fly in the face of tradition as represented by the authority of lineage elders. We will return to the significance of land in marriage wealth in the next chapter, where the matrilateral marriage system is discussed in detail and the symbolic value of marriage wealth is explained.

A man in love might elope with his sweetheart whether or not she is pregnant. This is quite common today, even after extended courtship. It usually occurs with the knowledge of the man's family and, in many cases, with the approval of at least some member of the girl's household. Elopement is considered disgraceful, however, if a young man has been forbidden to marry by his father. If a man is engaged to a young woman and elopes with another, his situation is especially difficult. The community looks upon the act as a mark of disrespect toward the father and as evidence that the young man has not been properly brought up, and also sees something ridiculous in the situation. But the parents of the boy and his betrothed regard it as reprehensible. It is cause for a breach between the two families and in no way cements relations between the young man's family and that of the girl with whom he eloped. The young man's father can easily refuse to allow his son and the girl to remain in his house and deny his son access to farmland. Under these circumstances, the young couple either decide to give up or postpone their marriage, or defy parental authority and leave the reservation.

Should a young man cause his sweetheart to become pregnant and then show a reluctance to marry her, his parents are in a position to exert pressure on him to go through with it. Characteristically, they speak of his duties to the child that is expected, his responsibility to the girl, and the concern he should feel for the honor of his mother and father. If his mother and sister feel that the girl will make a good wife and if the families are on friendly terms, great pressure can be brought to bear on him. If the girl and the young man's mother are consanguineal kin, the young man will usually be directly admonished by members of his mother's kingroup to marry the girl. His reluctance usually breaks down in this case, or else he remains adamant and leaves the reservation rather than marry. Leaving the reservation, indeed, often seems the only solution, for the young man's life can be made intolerable, at least until the girl marries someone else.

It is unlikely that a girl's parents will negotiate directly with the young man or his family if they are not rather closely related to him

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It may be defined rather with regard to family sponsorship through the exchange of marriage wealth and contingent supporting activities entailed in the good offices of close relatives. Arranged marriages continue to be the easiest means of obtaining a spouse. Under conditions of reservation living, which involve scarce land and material impoverishment, marriage is contracted only with family approval, unless the young couple is prepared to leave the reservation and shift for themselves in the towns and cities of Chile or on some rural estate.

A man looks outside his natal group for a sweetheart or wife. His attentions are most often met with favor and family approval where there are interfamilial links of friendship; and friendship is strongest when based on kinship. The closest kinship ties outside the exogamous patrilineage are between a man and the groups related through his mother or another female affine of his patrilineage—that is, groups related through in-married women of his residential kingroup.

Courtship is important in obtaining both the favor of the girl and the approval of her family, but the range of selection is defined matrilaterally.

When traditional marriage ceremonies are economically feasible today, they are carried out in close approximation to the recorded practices of fifty or more years ago (cf. Moesbach, 1936:231–69). Secondary unions such as the sororate and widow inheritance have tended to diminish along with the practice of polygyny, but their frequency is by no means negligible, especially when considered in the structural terms which will be elaborated in Chapter 8.

As in the past, dramatized bride capture accompanies some marriages (see Cooper's discussion, 1946:701). This involves a mock battle which has been prearranged by some members of both families. Among the modern Mapuche it appears that bride capture is an embellishment on elopement, occurring as part of preliminary marriage steps between proud and important families who are desirous of additional fanfare. Its occurrence is rare.

The following account is offered as a generalized description of the way in which a first marriage is contracted today among the Mapuche. It will be seen that marriage is essentially a family matter in the first instance, and a lineage matter in its broader aspects.

Marriage might be initiated by elopement, followed by wedding arrangements and a formal ceremony, or arrangement might follow a courtship which develops smoothly into marriage without the drama of elopement. Marriage may be further solemnized by Catho-

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Marriage may be further solemnized by Catho- 585
lic rites, important less for the religious significance than because 428
church registration and the civil registration which accompanies [177]
Chilean marriages establish the legitimacy of heirs in the framework of the national legal code. Such registration also gives a widow stronger claim to land after her husband's death, a claim which will [671] stand up better in the Indian court against the "traditional" claim of the dead man's brothers.

Kureyewen (the act of carrying off the bride), *capto*, or *robo* in- 583
volves the "stealing" of the bride-to-be from her kinsmen and, in effect, is equatable with elopement. It is most often carried out with an awareness on the part of the girl's parents that marriage is in the offing, inasmuch as the young man has usually spent months or even years courting their daughter. The exact night of the elopement is kept secret, perhaps being arranged on the spur of the moment by the sweethearts. The groom might take a friend into his confidence to assist him in the escapade. If the girl's parents are known not to be especially watchful, the elopement might take place without any outside help. If the young man fails, or if there is danger of his doing so, another date is set.

The young man, then, "steals" his sweetheart from her family in the dark of night when the household has retired. He takes her to his parent's house equally secretively. Both families are apprised of the fact the following morning, the one by the presence of the girl, the other by her absence.

The man's family do not always know of his plan to run off with his sweetheart, and their reactions vary according to the young man's status in the household, their opinion of the girl, their relationship with her family, and the mental adjustments they have made to the young woman's presence in the house. While there are idiosyncratic reactions in these circumstances, events follow discernible patterns.

The day following the elopement, the young man, his sweetheart, 583
and most of the members of his household sit around the fire and 581
discuss the couple's plans and prospects. The discussion is led by the man's father, who for the first time plays a direct and forceful role in the matter regardless of how long it might have been brewing, and who usually admonishes the young couple for being too precipitous and inconveniencing their parents. Almost as a matter of form he suggests that they postpone the nuptials until they are a year or so older. Sometimes this is phrased indirectly by pointing out that the young man would have to be given a share in the family harvest, and

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583 that this could not be arranged until the following season; or the
581 father will speak of waiting until some arrangement can be made for allotting his son a section of his fields for his own use, a complicated decision requiring much time-consuming deliberation. Since the matter of land is a paramount issue, the father will question his son about how he feels a fair arrangement could be made, taking all his other dependents into consideration. He will sometimes complain that the homestead is overcrowded and would not house an additional family, again suggesting that the marriage be postponed until the question of land and the matter of living accommodations can be settled.

583 These dilatory tactics might continue for a day or more. If the father seems to be losing ground, in the sense that the other household members appear willing to accept the marriage as a *fait accompli*, he might call in one or more of his brothers or even the chief, to back his authority and lend more weight to his arguments. It is said, however, that a father's wisdom sometimes convinces him that the arguments against his son's marriage are illogical and, if there is really no economic deterrent, he generally accepts the situation, saying that he will try to make the best arrangements possible.

If the idea of marriage is wholly uncongenial to the man's father, that is, if he feels that the girl will not do as a wife, he may bluntly tell her that she will have to return to her own household and that no marriage will be forthcoming. This results in a rupture between father and son and precipitates a family crisis. Nor does it by any means cement relationships with the girl's family. The young man's brothers might sympathize with him, feeling that the old man is unreasonable and cantankerous, or they might side with the father, dismissing their brother's plans as immature, impracticable, and possibly a threat to them. The son often leaves the parental roof under these circumstances, perhaps gauging the tone of his parting words by his father's firmness. If the father is sufficiently provoked by his son's action, he may threaten him with disinheritance. If the son feels that he can come to a satisfactory arrangement with his brothers after the old man's death, the threat will carry little conviction and the youth will follow through with his plan of leaving his father's house in angry pride. If the young man is not considered undesirable, he will not be refused a place to live and land to work after the old man's death.

If the girl's parents are not in favor of her marriage, they will come to take her home. Under most conditions she will be released to them.

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unless the young couple take matters into their own hands and run away from the reservation altogether. If they run away, a good deal of the responsibility rests with the father of the young man, and strained feelings result between the two families. 583

When all goes well, however, and the parents of both accept the elopement, marriage plans are begun in earnest. The young woman might return to her family household in the interim to assist in the completion of her trousseau. This interlude gives both families time to prepare the marriage wealth and settle many marriage details. Negotiations are practically identical whether or not elopement occurs. 583 584

Kurreyewen, then, serves to hasten marriage, provided the alliance is viewed favorably by both families. It may also result in a nontraditional marriage and in the young couple's leaving the reservation. If it is successful, the couple remain with the young man's parents for several days, while the father's brother and one or more kinsmen go to the girl's house and formally notify her parents that marriage is proposed and that they are desirous of coming to an amicable agreement, with the appropriate ceremonial conclusion as tradition dictates. Essentially the same procedure is followed if the marriage is initiated wholly by arrangement without elopement as a factor, but the girl would not have left her parental roof. The preliminaries might be more difficult to settle, since the young man would have to convince his father and his spokesmen of the propitiousness of the marriage without the catalytic aid of elopement. Furthermore, the father of the girl would be in a position to delay the marriage as long as his daughter was in his household. There would be no sense of urgency, and, even though both families were sympathetic toward the marriage, preparations could be drawn out almost endlessly. It sometimes happens that elopement takes place precisely at the point when arrangements seem to have bogged down.

In any case, a serious young man generally will have busied himself with preparations for marriage by obtaining some commitments from his father and kinsmen for getting together the bride-price, in order to supplement whatever wealth he might possess in his own right. He will very likely have spoken abstractly of marriage with a number of his relatives and will have some idea of what their contributions might be.

Lineage contributions are of considerable symbolic importance, but the material assistance given the young man is not necessarily great. 583 585

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583 great. The essentials needed by the young couple to be relatively self-sufficient are generally provided by their immediate families and the closest or wealthiest relatives on both sides. The marriage wealth, figured in movable goods, is approximately an equal exchange. The most important item in the marriage wealth is, however, the parcel [583] of land made available to the man by his father, over which the bride exercises customary rights. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

584 The first step in the negotiations between the two families is called *nakulikawgawg*, the beginning of formal discussion in which the amount of payment and the date of the wedding feast are tentatively set. This is sometimes called *dillantuwgawg*, a term perhaps more suggestive of discussion between in-laws. Actually, if traditional matrilateral marriage is practiced, the negotiators will be affinal relatives through former marriages. [584]

583 584 After preparations have been made by the family and relatives of the man, the father's brother and perhaps an older brother of the young man go again to tell the bride's parents that the payment is ready. They state in detail the items to be paid, somewhat underemphasizing the worth of the animals, ponchos, jewelry, and so forth, so as to make the actual presentation as impressive as possible. But they deal elaborately with the quality of the parcel of land being made available to the young couple. There is a good deal of haggling about what should be given and the negotiations may take as long as a week, especially if the young man's kinsmen are feted by his sweetheart's family. Agreement is always reached in cases where the families have been on good terms. However, the groom's family often has to pay an additional amount at the last moment -- a matter of a few pesos -- on the day of the nuptials. The haggling, actually, is inconsistent with the notion of equal exchange. It is understandable once it is recognized that land provided by the groom's family really makes for an imbalance, since the bride-price is greater than any gifts made to the groom's kin or the dowry brought by the bride. This imbalance is symbolized in the additional, last-minute payment of a few extra pesos to the family of the girl.

585 On the appointed day, the family of the groom, including as many relatives and friends as are interested, proceed to the bride's house, which is an another reservation. They carry all the movable bride-price with them, to be handed over at the wedding feast and distributed among the relatives of the bride. If the marriage has been

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SG5 589 event of the death of the sister's husband, but I do not think it is viewed in this way. However, in some of the accounts I heard of normal marriage, *mafutun* was mentioned as part of the background of the union, but marriages in nearly all these instances involved classificatory sisters. Therefore, the payment to the bride's sister does pave the way for possible marriages between her husband's kingroup and that of the groom.

585 Part of *mafutun* is a "small" *ñillawthungung* held at the bride's sister's house, in which agreement is reached over the proffered gift or payment. Then the horse or sheep is killed and a small fiesta is held for the friends of the groom who brought the animal.

The main wedding ceremony continues through the day at the bride's father's house. The bride and groom and all his friends and relatives return to the groom's parents' house after the ceremony is over. Their departure signalizes the completion of matrimonial arrangements. The bride carries a dowry of roughly equal value to the animals and other things presented to her father and kinsmen; or at least she brings as much of the dowry as has been accumulated up to the time of the marriage ceremony. That night the groom's family hold a fiesta in their house, while the bride's relatives also continue to celebrate the event in theirs.

Three or four days later, the bride and groom and his immediate family go again to the house of the bride's father. This is considered the final ceremonial visit they will make. There is a good deal of talk about the marriage, the auspicious ceremony, and so forth, and a further discussion of the promises made to the newlyweds by the girl's father and his kinsmen. The groom brings a slaughtered sheep for his parents-in-law, a small part of which is cooked and eaten at the gathering. The animal is in the nature of a present for the use of his parents-in-law. It does not constitute part of the bride-price, but is rather a token of good will and hope for amicable relations. The visit is called *rakuf napitún*, in Spanish *visita novia*.

Today, arranged marriages proceed with little difficulty, and there is less bickering over marriage payments than is said to have occurred formerly. Relatives other than those most closely connected to the bride and groom hardly ever raise objections to the marriage, although they may choose not to participate if they disapprove. Nowadays, it is less important to gain the approbation of any but one's household head, since contributions to the marriage wealth are minimal. Usually, the father of the groom controls the most valuable item

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of wealth, namely, the land made available to his son. If the groom's father's brother, for example, should object strenuously to the marriage, he might be ridiculed for wanting the girl himself. Nor does the chief's opinion of the match necessarily carry much weight any more, since his control over reservation land has diminished during the last generation or so.

Before setting themselves up in their own house, it is customary for the bride and groom to live in the latter's father's house. The period of residence varies, depending on several conditions. For one thing, a house has to be built for the young couple. In some cases this is done before the marriage, but in many cases only the commitment for its construction may be arranged for then. The *rukan*, or house-building ceremony, is costly and may not be feasible too soon after the expense of the wedding has been met. Furthermore, the land on which the new house will be built might be under cultivation, and it is customary to wait until the crops have been harvested before the new household is established. If the young couple is awaiting the delivery of the promised part of the girl's dowry, there might be a further delay in setting up the new household. Then, too, it is sometimes necessary for the couple to wait until the young man has actually reaped a harvest from his fields before moving into their own house. Sometimes the young couple remains with the man's parents until the birth of their first child. They may remain in the husband's father's house for a number of years. It seems, however, that young newlyweds prefer to live by themselves nowadays, even though there may continue to be a close working relationship between a man and his father's household — indeed, the young man usually continues in a closely dependent relationship to his father at least for the first few years of marriage and often until the old man's death.

The above generalized account of marriage negotiations, even including some of the interpretations, is close to a composite picture of informants' descriptions. The wedding ceremonies I observed showed some variation in emotional content, as well as differences in the amount of bride-price, the range of relatives present and their importance in the ceremony, the number of times *filleanthungung* occurred, and the presence or absence of *mafutun*. These are variations within the pattern. It may be said that *tukulthungung* takes place more often in the initial stages of marriage negotiations that have not been precipitated by elopement; and that haggling is more in evidence when contributions are made by many members of both line-

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584 ages. In general, poor Mapuche need assistance of relatives if they
583 hope to have an elaborate ceremony. However, wealthier Mapuche are able to carry most or all of the burden of marriage wealth without assistance, thereby somewhat circumventing traditional lineage participation in marriage arrangements.

SECONDARY UNIONS

587 Secondary marriage may involve the taking of an additional wife in a polygynous household, or another spouse after the death of the first. There are no prohibitions placed on remarriage per se by either [594] men or women after the demise of one spouse or, in the case of women, when desertion or divorce has terminated the first union.

A man has greater freedom in choosing a second wife, and may look anywhere for her. Since women today show some reluctance to [595] become co-wives in a polygynous household, a polygynist may have to marry a somewhat undesirable woman if he wants to increase his number of wives, but this is about the only difficulty with which he will be faced. Yet there is a tendency to take a second wife from the same group as the first (if she has died). Institutionally, this is the sororate, for the man marries a real or classificatory sister, a lineage sister, of his first wife.

587 There are more restrictions placed on the secondary marriage of
589 a widow. Widows nearly always "marry" lineage brothers of their husband, under the terms of widow inheritance and lineage-based rights, if they want to remarry and remain on their husband's land. If a woman returns to her natal reservation, she is free to marry anyone who will have her, and her opportunities will be enhanced if she has claim to some land there. In most cases her new husband will [591] reside uxorilocally. If she remained on her husband's reservation, she could not usually obtain permission to marry a man who was not an agnate of her dead husband. While a widow is theoretically free to marry anyone, provided she relinquishes claim to her husband's land if she marries outside his lineage, her opportunities for contracting a favorable second marriage are slim unless she has some land of her own. Her difficulties increase if she has a number of children and is no longer young.

587 The sororate and widow inheritance do not occur with as much
178 frequency as in the past. The reasons for this decline are essentially
589 economic, especially involving farmland and its diminishing pro-

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as a result of cultural conservatism but for the functional reason of expediency.

In the structural relationships that began to emerge with the decline of polygyny we have an example of parental authority operating in the arrangement of interlineage marriage and a handing over of father rights to a son.[9] Whereas formerly, in the prereservation era, marriage contracts were between households, they later became interlineage arrangements under the authority of the chief or lineage head who controlled the land and gave or withheld permission to marry. Marriage wealth provided by the localized lineage was of course controlled by the parental sibling group who formerly competed with the young men for wives, and marriage arrangements depended on their solidarity. While younger men are among themselves potential competitors for wives, competition is minimized by differences in relative age, increased range of selection through the incorporation of a sufficient number of wife-giving groups, and the internal differentiation of the local descent group into sublineages which tend to receive women from groups most closely related to wives of the sublineage members. The modification in kinship terminology is consonant with changes in the social structure which affected the marriage patterns.

MARRIAGE WEALTH AND SCARCE LAND

To conclude this chapter I will elaborate an idea expressed earlier about land as a factor of utmost importance in the negotiation of marriage. The discussion will outline some general changes in the social and economic systems, engendered by reservation living, which are related to the marriage practices.

It was said that Mapuche tend to view marriage as a union sanctioned by family agreement and an equal exchange of wealth between

[9] This is the point made explicit by Gifford, cited and disputed by Leach, 1951:30. Leach writes that "Gifford does not appear to have recognized that such an arrangement would imply a special 'continuing relationship between the 'wife taking lineage' on the one hand and the 'wife giving lineage' on the other." It is my contention that in Mapucheland such a "special continuing relationship" did develop in postreservation times and that prereservation conditions were inconsistent with such development. The correctness of the interpretation depends of course on the reliability of the historical data as much as on the theoretical point of view. I do not feel that it is correct to think in terms of corporate lineages having existed in prereservation days or, by extension, to speak of a principle such as the "unity of the lineage" operating before sedentary reservation life permitted and even to some extent forced the growth of corporate, localized lineage groups.

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583 [581] the relatives of the bride and groom. Echoing this notion, Titiev writes (1951:101) that "neither party expects to gain very much in these transactions. Any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment." Why then is any payment made? What is the significance of equal exchange? Is there no form of compensation paid to the wife's group for relinquishing a woman? On the other hand, why is there protracted haggling over the marriage arrangements? Why is there mention of the groom's land? Why is there payment of a few extra pesos to the family of the bride? Why is there a payment called *mafutun*?

[581] A mere glance at the last four questions seems to suggest that informants' remarks about equality cannot be taken at face value. Even where items of wealth are clearly movable goods, rather than land, the exchange is not actually equal, although the items of greatest economic value tend to cancel each other. It is incorrect to say that the exchange is roughly equal because *mafutun* and the small cash payment are negligible compared to the value of the other items. This would be to disregard their symbolic content, which alone may be considered compensation to a wife-giving group – recognition of its superiority in this regard.

There is a tendency on the part of some anthropologists to confuse symbolism with survivals. This confusion itself is a survival of earlier anthropological thinking in many instances. I do not regard the haggling, the small cash payment, and *mafutun* as nonfunctional, as survivals of a more vigorous Mapuche culture. The form they take today represents adjustment to changing conditions. Mapuche society as I came to know it in 1953 is undergoing change. It is not, however, a hodgepodge of cultural relics, although, where analysis fails, it is tempting to regard it in this light.

[198] Let us consider marriage wealth in historical terms. Writing of events witnessed around the middle of the sixteenth century in that part of Chile which is now Cautín Province, Mariño de Lovera noted that the wealthiest Mapuche were those who had many daughters to exchange for bride-price (1865:124), implying that on balance a greater amount was paid for women than accompanied them in the form of dowry. Between Lovera's time and the middle of the nineteenth century, accounts suggest that the groom and his kingroup paid heavily for the women they received. The exact manner in which bride-price was amassed is not clear, although chroniclers wrote of the groom calling on his "relatives and friends" for assistance. Such

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assistance was to be reciprocated. All this points to the existence of a high bride-price. We are not clear about the nature of dowry, but the emphasis on bride-price suggests that the dowry was negligible in comparative value. (See Cooper, 1946:719–20 ff., for a summary of the historical data.)

Autobiographical material dating to the early reservation period (Moesbach, 1936) indicates that dowry payments were important and perhaps equal to the goods received from the groom's group. This contrasts with accounts for prereservation times. I take this to mean that land had already become a scarce commodity and was a major part of the marriage wealth, but my argument does not hinge on historical data, and it is difficult to evaluate the evidence (Moesbach, 1936:242–70). Earlier historical accounts mention return of the bride-price in the event of the wife's untimely death, and payment of an amount equal to or greater than the bride-price by a woman's paramour. These payments could only have been in movable goods and, since the accounts are of the prereservation period, it is likely that land was not as highly valued as it came to be after 1884. In any case, such reports about return of the bride-price do not appear in the later literature (except as historical references) which describes exchange in movable goods as more or less equal in value. I suggest that this is because land had become the item of overriding importance in negotiating marriage.

That any exchange of commodities occurred, once land became highly valued, is probably due to factors of prestige that had always been involved in marriage. The wife-giving group sent the bride with a dowry containing, aside from valuable animals, many luxury goods of silver and woven cloth. Similar items were also part of the bride-price. Descriptions of marriages between chiefs' families during the last two generations are almost regal and tell of large contributions from several reservation groups related on each side. They clearly are highly ceremonious events. *Konas*, males of rank-and-file status, also called upon their relatives for contributions to enhance the display, but had less elaborate weddings – and they had to obtain permission to marry from their chief or lineage head, in whose hands was the title of registry of reservation land.

Today, a man need not usually request permission from his chief to marry, although the matter is called to the chief's attention out of respect, and, if there is parental disapproval, the chief may arbitrate the matter. The heads of small sublineages or individual families,

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however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise, any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after marriage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past. All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in payments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system, whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

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compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation community is taken as the frame of reference. 59

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater structural significance than the finer variations within the patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an infrequently encountered living arrangement, although patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation. It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation. 591 [178] [829]

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which brideprice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on their husband's reservation and established a new household with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does not constitute remarriage, since no additional brideprice is paid for rights over the woman. 591 736 602 [613] 587 591 [583]

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women born after registration). While these rights cannot always be validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given *de facto* use rights to plots of land. These women are usually 562 591 423 [648]

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constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only regulated by lineal considerations of propriety but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*admapu*) is matrilaterality. 613 582

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matrilateral system is phrased partly in terms of sorcery. A man does not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witchcraft against him, at least not homicidal sorcery. All Mapuche distrust outsiders—nonrelatives who are not of the locality—as potential sorcerers. To break the matrilateral pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other in-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage. 613 582 754 [609]

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, *pay brideprice (mafun: to pay for a woman) in order to obtain* his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing[2]) group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on other occasions before and after marriage. 613 583 554 602 613 583

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives 571

[2] When talking to the groom's agnates the term *mafun* is used; when discussing brideprice with the bride's agnates, the term *wallalun* is generally used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *wallalun* signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The customary designations wife "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship. [195] [607]

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554 and the one which must pay for them.[5] This is expressed in
602 kinship terminology. Men of the wife-giving group refer to
613 wife-receivers as "the one who has purchased" (*fillan*: to
583 purchase; also, used as a kinship term which may be roughly
translated as brother-in-law). Those of the receiving group call
571 those whom they pay for wives weku (roughly, maternal uncle).
[60] These terms are used in a general classificatory manner which
serves to identify wife-receivers as *fillan* and wife-givers as weku,
regardless of terminological modifications which occur for any
individual after marriage.

It is during the period when marriage is being negotiated and ritually solemnized that the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage is most emphatically symbolized. On balance, and with respect both to items of material and symbolic value, the wife-receiving group pays considerably more than the bride brings in dowry.[6] The brideprice payments and ceremonial acts of subservience indicate the traditional superiority of the wife-giving group.

684 A young man who has come to an understanding with a girl, and possibly with her parents, goes to seek out her father in the company of one or more of his elder kinsmen or sends them in
584 his stead to initiate the suit of marriage. Their proposal comes
213 under the scrutiny of several elders of the girl's lineage, her father's closest kinsmen-friends. The latter, strongly influenced by the girl's father, pass judgment on the marriage proposal and

[578] [5] I am not considering personal feelings here. In general, though, it may be said that the wife-receiving group is felt to harbor resentment against the wife-giving group. The suspected ill will of the receiving group causes wife-givers to charge them, sometimes openly, of not caring for the women they receive in marriage, of saying that their door is always open (which, in fact, it is not) to their married sisters who wish to return, and causes them to
[754] associate *fillan* with sorcery, under certain adverse circumstances. In this latter notion is something of the idea that socially inferior persons of little means practice sorcery against their social superiors, who are usually wealthy men (*ülmen*).

[6] In speaking of brideprice and dowry the Mapuche refer most often to land and cattle. The word for dowry, however, is properly *fil*, and really signifies household goods, clothing, jewelry, weaving loom, etc., which, to my mind, indicates 1) that an equal exchange of animals is a post-reservation phenomenon which took rise after farm land acquired its present importance in Mapuche life, and 2) that some ostentatious exchange is necessary for consecrating the marriage contract (see Faron 1960b:307).

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may refuse the suit or delay the marriage. In any case, the groom's lineage is placed in a position clearly inferior to that of the bride's.

Titiev's assertion that there is an approximately equal exchange of marriage wealth in which "neither party expects to gain very much . . . any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment" (1951: 101) is an untenable observation. In the absence of a conceptual scheme of Mapuche marriage alliances it is easy enough to see how Titiev was misled by informants' statements to this effect. For one thing, the most loquacious informants seem very interested in convincing the outsider that Mapuche customs are pretty much in line with those of local Chileans, and that the exchange of gifts at marriage is an equal expression of friendship, mutual respect, and so forth. Whatever gift exchange might occur among Chilean peasants, the Mapuche marriage negotiations deny any conception of equality, and a carefully elicited explanation of the details of the negotiations and nuptial acts reveals that the exchange of wealth is far from being equal. There is an important imbalance of bridewealth payment, without which traditional marriage could not take place.

There is much haggling over marriage wealth, with the result that the economic value of the most important moveable items of bridewealth and dowry (cattle) tend to cancel each other. In this sense, "neither party expects to gain very much." But even with regard to cattle there is really no equality after the initial ostentatious exchange is made, since part of the bridewealth animals is always used to provide meat for the wedding guests. The groom's people provide the meat and the bride's father controls its distribution and use.

Beyond this "equal" exchange of moveable goods, however, is the groom's farmland which comes under consideration. Both parties to the marriage are quite concerned with this land. That of the groom emphasizes its richness and other qualities. The bride will exercise lifelong rights over this land, even after her husband's death, and this is stressed. This transfer of limited-use rights to the bride is the *sine qua non* of traditional marriage. Without land, made available by the lineage of the groom, marriage tends to involve atypical uxorilocal residence or

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583 423 is contracted completely outside the traditional context. In neither case does traditionally approved marriage take place.

613 602 583 571 While the transfer of rights over land is the most important economic aspect of the imbalance of brideprice payment, it is not, as already indicated, an isolated expression of the social inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage. The bride's lineage is attentive to her well-being while she is in residence on her husband's reservation. It retains residual rights over her, indicating that her presentation to the groom's family constitutes a largess which can never be repaid in full, that this places the wife-receiving group in continual obligation to the wife-givers, and that this obligation endures even beyond the lifetime of the woman and involves the care of her corpse and her spirit by the receiving group. There is no mechanism in Mapuche society to release wife-receivers from this eternal obligation. Indeed, as I shall point out later, if it is felt that they have been remiss in caring for the spiritual needs of a deceased woman this feeling might be expressed by the wife-givers saying that they suspect foul play (witchcraft) on the part of the receiving group.

585 43 602 571 During the marriage ceremony, which takes place on the bride's reservation, there are two instances in which the bride's family receive animals from the groom and his family. The special acts involved in this presentation indicate or symbolize the relative status of the two groups. At the outset, the groom makes a dramatic entrance on horseback with a couple of his lineage agnates. They lead a special horse, ox, or several sheep (depending on the wealth and local prestige of the families concerned) which are due for presentation to the parents of the bride. They slaughter the animal(s) and make an obligatory presentation of most of it to the father of the bride, one of several such subservient acts. This offering is then prepared and cooked by the bride's family and distributed by them as hosts to the most important guests, who receive the large and choice portions. After this is done, the father of the bride selects one or more of the brideprice animals to be slaughtered for the general ceremonial feasting, during which all those assembled gorge themselves. These animals likewise are then killed and cut up by the groom (and his family) and handed back to the family of the bride for preparation and distribution.

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While the marriage feast is in progress, another important ritual is enacted—*mafutun* (derived from *mafun:* brideprice), a ceremony connected with the distribution of brideprice. Specifically, it involves the presentation of a horse or several sheep to a married sister (real or classificatory) of the bride who is in residence on another reservation. As a consequence of matrilateral preference and the rule of patrilocality, *mafutun* often takes place on the groom's reservation. Several of the groom's young kinsmen ride off ostentatiously to where the bride's sister is waiting for them. A "little marriage ceremony" (*pichi ñillanthungun*) takes place at the bride's sister's house, in which a ritual presentation (*weupin*) of the payment is made to her. Her acceptance, prearranged and automatic, constitutes the recognition of affineship with the groom's lineage, again symbolizing its wife-receiving status.

During the wedding celebration a point is reached at which time an additional payment is made to the mother of the bride by the parents of the groom. This is a token payment of a few pesos, without which the marriage ceremony would be imperfect. Although the intrinsic value of this payment is negligible, its omission is unthinkable. Sometimes its presentation is forgotten or delayed beyond the proper point in the ceremony. This is the occasion for the bride's group to make jokes at the expense of that of the groom. They joke about the *ñillan* group having entered marriage negotiations with reservations about their obligations to the wife-givers, their "seniors" (*weku*), a snide charge which causes chagrin among the wife-receivers.

Four days after the completion of the wedding ceremony, after the bride is installed in her husband's house, the parents of the groom, in the company of their son and his wife, make a ceremonial visit to the parents of the bride. They present the parents of the bride with a slaughtered sheep. Part of this animal is prepared for a ritual meal in which all assembled participate. This, like the token money payment, is not considered part of brideprice proper. Its omission, however, on whatever grounds, is considered a serious breach of etiquette, insofar as it would signify marked disrespect to the entire wife-giving group, which deserves deferential consideration as a special and superior segment of one's cognatic kinsmen.

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With regard to the subordinate lineage-dominant lineage set, little more need be said. The subordinate lineages are localized on the reservation by sufferance of the dominant one. Members of subordinate lineages look to the dominant one for political and ritual leadership (on well-functioning reservations) and, in any case, are forced to trace descent back to the time of the original chief in order to validate certain rights. The greater rights of the dominant lineage have worked their effect on both the size and composition of dominant and subordinate lineages throughout Mapucheland, and it will be remembered that it is from the subordinate lineages that most young people emigrate to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina, being accorded fewer real opportunities than members of dominant lineages to gain a living on their natal reservation. In some cases, when feelings run high, members of these subordinate lineages are called by the opprobrious name *winka*, usually reserved for whites.

The superiority of gift-givers to gift-receivers is not absolute, although in any particular situation gift-receivers are at least momentarily in an inferior position. With respect to ceremonies such as *trafkin* and *honchotun*, in which gift-giving is important, the persons involved alternate periodically (yearly) as giver and receiver. But the recipient at any phase of the cycle is under moral obligation to return the gift at the next juncture, placing himself in an inferior position until the completion of the next phase of the cycle, symbolizing a mutual and cyclically asymmetrical obligation. Since a gift must be reciprocated, the receiver is in a position of formal obligation to the giver. When the return is made the other party becomes recipient in turn—and so on. In the *ewn* ceremony an example of the obligation associated in gift-giving and receiving is placing gifts in the coffin (*rokiñ*), an act which expresses the obligations of the living to the dead; in return the proper bestowal of *rokiñ* binds the departed spirit to watch over the living. And in the network of marriage alliances, an integral part is the relative, shifting inferiority-superiority of gift-receivers and gift-givers.

As I discussed earlier, Titiev's assertion that there is equal exchange of marriage wealth (Titiev 1951:101) is wholly inconsistent with Mapuche values and their social correlates. The

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583 613 602 554 inferiority of the group who pays bridepriee is symbolized in a number of ways (see Chapter One, pp. 41–45). Rather than being equal, there is a great, symbolically significant and obligatory imbalance in goods transferred at the occasion of marriage, consistent with the relative *inferiority* of the wife-receiving group.

582 613 602 It will be remembered that there is no direct exchange of women among the Mapuche lineages, the system being one of generalized exchange, strong preference accounting for the vast majority of marriages being contracted with matrilaterally linked groups. On the face of it, this is a triadic structure in which are involved one's own lineage, one's wife-giving lineage, and the wife-receiving group into which one's lineage sisters marry. This relationship is symbolized in the kinship terminology, in which wife-receivers are designated as "brother-in-law" (*fallen*: the one who has purchased) and wife-givers as "maternal uncle" (*weku*), as I have already indicated. One's own lineage consists of brothers, fathers, etc. The terms used for one's own lineage members are potentially extensible to all Mapuche who do not fall into a marriage-linked category which, being more than a sentimental attachment to fellow Mapuche, expresses the structural boundaries of the marriage system. But the necessarily triadic structure involved in this kind of exchange system reduces to dyadic component relationships with respect to any marriage-linked units, affinals always standing in either the *fallen* or the *weku* category, as wife-receiver and wife-giver, with respect to each other.

601

582 691 Now for the problem of why the Mapuche insist that marriage with mother's brother's daughter is the ideal union, one which they say was law (*admapu*) a generation or so ago. As I have indicated elsewhere, genealogies do not show that marriage with real mother's brother's daughter takes place with significant frequency; that it is in fact a rare occurrence (Faron 1961a, c; 1962). Since all marriageable women are called by the same term, *fiuke*, men marry, in the absence of exact genealogical knowledge, classificatory mother's brother's daughters in a generalized system of exchange. Therefore, the anthropologist's acceptance of this statement as literal truth is wrong. But what does the Mapuche expression of this ideal marriage form mean?

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823 had been long in the family. They object strongly, however, to any strangers picking up stones as specimens, or appearing to 'prospect' in any way, which, being forewarned by Ventura Delgado, I was especially careful to
525 avoid. Mons. Guinnard has given a description of some of their games, differing from those in vogue among the Tehuelches, as for instance gambling with black and white beans. Casimiro is my authority for stating that this people
● 583 preserve the singular custom of abduction in marriage. The intending bridegroom does not trouble himself to obtain the consent of the bride, but having paid the fixed dowry or price to her parents, he gallops up, and forcibly seizing the girl carries her off before him to the bush, whence, after an enforced honeymoon of two days, they return as man and
[illegible] wife to his dwelling. This, however, is not the practice in
595 the case of the marriage of a cacique's daughters. Polygamy is allowable; thus the great Chocoque possessed three wives, the chief favourite, whose amiable good-humour deserved the honour, occupying the central place in the toldo; but all three lived in perfect harmony and took care of each other's children with impartial affection.

567 These Araucanos are, as I have said, apt to kidnap or buy
162 captives, and I am inclined to suspect that there is a scarcity
609 of women amongst them, of which the exterminating cruelties practised towards women and children by the frontier 'Cristianos' is a probable cause. They are certainly more dangerous to strangers than the Southern Indians, and it is unsafe to venture amongst them without proper safe conducts from the cacique.

574 To myself Chocoque offered permission to travel directly north through the interior of the country as far as the Argentine Provinces, guaranteeing my safety; and the temptation was only resisted by reflecting on the necessity of keeping faith with my Tehuelche friends by proceeding to Patagones. He also gave me a cordial invitation to return, and an assurance that I should be always welcomed